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of Kwoma children is very effective in this respect. Errors and warnings sharply differentiate the things in the environment which may, and those which may not, be eaten, with the result that Kwoma children show a remarkable knowledge of the local flora and fauna.

Parents provide their children with a general formula to keep them from eating harmful food. The formula is: if you do not know a thing is good to eat, do not try it. I have no data on how this fear of strangeness is transmitted to the child, but I did observe the fact that children generally reacted with fear to strange objects and persons.

A Kwoma child learns that, in addition to things naturally inedible, there are also foods which are made poisonous by sorcerers. Boys and girls are told never to eat food given them by a stranger or a non-relative, for it may be poisoned by the insertion of a magical white powder. As an example of parental training on this point, Wof refused to allow Mey and Fit to eat at my house because I bought bananas, pawpaws, yams, and other vegetables from people of other hamlets. He also warned us not to eat this food, for we might have enemies in the tribe who would try to poison us. Another illustration of the manner in which this eating restriction is inculcated occurred when Marok's dog died. It was his best hunting dog, and both he and his wife and sister were very fond of the animal. When it died, they wailed as they would have done for a member of the family. It died early one morning, and the women mourned throughout the day. By afternoon flies had gathered about the dead animal and laid their eggs upon it. Mey, Fit, and Buka were with me when Marok pointed to these flyblows and told me that this was the poisonous white powder which sorcerers use. This was definite proof, he said, that someone had tried to poison him or one of his family, but that the unfortunate dog had eaten the food instead and died as a result. All the children of the hamlet soon knew the imputed cause of the dog's death, and it is probable that this knowledge served to strengthen their fear of food not prepared by relatives.

A child is warned about another type of sorcery which also

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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. [602] [571] Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 [521] A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[1] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [1] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

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father's *friends*.[17] His parents teach him that these children are his *friends*. He is told that he can visit and play with these children without fear of sorcery, and that he should be nice to them when they come to visit him.

A child is taught to fear and avoid non-relatives,[18] as has already been mentioned in connection with sorcery. He is also warned that they are dangerous for reasons other than sorcery. Non-relatives, he is told, not only do not help and protect him as his relatives do, but may even have little compunction about hurting him. In addition to warnings, the child receives many object lessons from the bitter exchanges of insults and threats of violence which occur not infrequently between the adults of the hamlet and those not related to them. He learns, on the other hand, that non-relatives belong to the same subtribe as his own family and that therefore there is a limit to their danger. He comes to understand that they and his relatives have a considerable community of interest; that they will stand together against aggression from outside; that they participate jointly in ceremonies and court meetings; and, finally, that a complicated web of kinship bonds interlaces the whole subtribe and holds it together. A boy learns the names of non-relatives. If he meets one of them he may exchange a brief greeting and gossip for a moment, but, in contrast to a meeting with a relative, he is reserved and anxious. He never enters the house of a non-relative unless accompanied by an older person, and seldom plays with unrelated children.

A child is taught that foreigners[19] are even more to be feared than non-relatives. Not only will they sorcerize him without shame, but they have little respect for his life or limb. He is told stories of head-hunting raids, and most Kwoma children actually experience a raid in which some acquaintance or relative is killed and decapitated by a group of foreigners seeking prestige.

[17] A ceremonial pseudo-kin relationship established at the time of initiation to adulthood.

[18] Unrelated members of the subtribe.

[19] A member of another subtribe who is not a relative by marriage.

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Way's daughter, who was of his lineage, and Mes' sister, Aya, who was of the other lineage of the hamlet. The only girl on his list whom he did not call *sister* was Gwimpi, an attractive girl of about his age who belonged to another sib and whom he said he intended to marry. I asked him about Gwanta, the only girl of the hamlet in his age group who was not on his list. His face fell, and he said that she did not like him. Then he brightened and remarked that she was no good anyway. He went on to say that Mes' sister, Aya, was the best of all because she had a very large vagina. Again he cautioned me not to tell Mar about his escapades. I asked him what Mar would do if he found out and he replied: "He would beat me. No, he would not beat me, but I would be much ashamed." Two afternoons later he came in looking very proud of himself and boasted that he had just cohabited twice with Awa in their house. Mey came in as he was talking and Gwiyap stopped short, explaining later that he did not want Mey to know for fear he would tell Mar.

Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma, Gwiyap began an affair with Gwanta, the girl who had previously turned him down. One afternoon he came to my house greatly excited, saying that he had met Gwanta on the path and that she had told him that she was willing to have intercourse with him. He had given her younger brother two razor blades and told him to give one to Gwanta and keep the other himself, and to come and tell him when Gwanta went to the spring to get water so that he could meet her there. He said that he intended to ask her to come and sleep under Wysep's mosquito net. When he met her later that afternoon in her house, she agreed to this proposition; her younger brother said that he would come, too. Gwanta told him that he could not, asking him how many people he thought a mosquito net would hold.[10] Gwiyap also reported that she had refrained from calling him by his name.[11] Later in the evening I asked him if

[10] Gwiyap was apparently very indirect in his remarks so that neither the mother nor the brother of the girl suspected anything.

[11] It is the custom for engaged persons not to address one another by name.

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[55] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[55] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[39] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their coöperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[39] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

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afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man."

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister's* lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover *in flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud.

Even in courtship, the father and *brothers* of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness.

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[1] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tambaran during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[1] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

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882 An adolescent girl also resembles a boy in her responses
602 to punishments from persons living in the hamlet. She usu-
865 ally obeys her parents, but is sometimes verbally aggressive toward them and rather frequently grumbles behind their back.[42] She threatens, scolds, and beats her younger siblings as do boys of her age. Toward her adolescent *sisters*, she behaves in a manner comparable to that of a boy toward his adolescent *brothers;* she tries to gain dominance over them so that she may command them and avoid obeying them. On two occasions while I was at Kwoma, an adolescent girl attacked a *sister* with a stick. The relation of a girl to her *brother* is the reciprocal of that described for the boy. She plays her part in the joking relationship, quite adequately holding her own in the insults that pass between them. In regard to sexual behavior which her *brothers* might punish, she either obeys their interdiction or takes care to hide her actions from them.

882 A girl behaves toward persons outside the hamlet in much
• 609 the same way as does a boy. She is polite toward relatives
623 who live elsewhere, but has the privilege of breaking relationships with them. She tends to avoid non-relatives except
583 in clandestine love affairs. When she goes to live with her
591 betrothed, however, she has to make a rather difficult adjust-
602 ment to him and to his relatives. In this situation she has
606 several modes of coping with threats and annoyances from her future in-laws: she may call upon her relatives for help, support, and protection from retaliation; she may submit and become subservient; or she may break the engagement and return to her own home. Girls who are successful in marriage make some compromise between the first two of these modes of adjustment.

882 Adolescence, in fine, widens the scope of experience of
86 Kwoma boys and girls and brings them into new learning dilemmas. They assume new economic responsibilities and occupy themselves with philandering and courtship. They learn to cope more courageously with the physical environ-

[42] Although I have no figures on the matter, it is my impression that girls express verbal aggression toward their parents more freely than do boys.

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maternal uncle, her ***paternal aunt***, her ***sisters***, and her ***friends***.

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the coöperative endeavors of non-relatives[46] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes.

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected.

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't

[46] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

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609 578 [166] [123] you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house? No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined [685] by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done, he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are [692] made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable [683] settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing [684] sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seducing a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a [626] man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse him and turn public opinion against him in order to make him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned for retaliating in kind.

609 578 626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggressive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe, three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the relatives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are always persons among the relatives of the victim who are related to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore

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do not wish the controversy to continue to such a point that they will be forced to break these relationships. These persons, if the aggression has adhered to custom, will point out that the victim received what he deserved and will suggest that the matter be closed. If the aggressor demands compensation, it is these persons who bring pressure to bear upon the victim to pay it. If, however, the aggressor's behavior has been disproportionate, if his reaction to some minor threat imposed by a non-relative has exceeded the bounds of custom, then the situation is reversed. Public opinion swings in favor of the victim. If the aggressor has been exceedingly disproportionate in his aggression, his own relatives may even withdraw their support from him, and he is then forced to leave the tribe to escape retaliation from the victim and his relatives.

The Kwoma court system provides a formalized mode of settling disputes between non-relatives.[47] The court may meet to settle any disagreement, whether it be over property, sex, or sorcery. Only adult males attend the meetings, which are held at a house tamberan, usually a neutral one. The men convene in the morning carrying spears and wearing bone daggers. When everyone has arrived, the most important man of the hamlet in which the meeting is being held stands and states the purpose of the meeting and his view of the case. When he has finished speaking, someone else will stand and state his opinion. Then another presents his views. Thus the meeting progresses. A man's speech usually starts with an exoneration of himself and his relatives and ends with an accusation of someone else. While making a speech a man stamps his feet on the ground, brandishes a spear or dagger, and speaks loudly, often raising his voice to a shout. Sometimes, when someone has made a particularly pointed accusation, the accused will rise and stand facing his accuser. Each may draw his dagger, stand close to his opponent, reach over the other's shoulder and make jabbing movements at his back, shouting insults and threats. It is particularly im-

[47] Disputes which only concern relatives are settled at similar but less formal meetings at the local house tamberan.